

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

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FOLLOWING REPEAT TEHRAN 0190, SENT PARIS INFO BRUSSELS
MOGADISCIO ADDIS ABABA MOSCOW CAIRO RIYADH 05 JAN SENT
DAR ES SALAAM 14 JAN:

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QUOTE S E C R E T TEHRAN 0190

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SULLIVAN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SO ET

SUBJ: INDICATION THAT ETHIOPIA WOULD BE PREPARED TO ENGAGE
IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA

SUMMARY: ETHIOPIA HAS RESPONDED TO REMARKS BY SHAH DURING
PRES CARTER'S VISIT CONCERNING THE HORN OF AFRICA.
ETHIOPIAN FONMIN SUMMONED IRANIAN CHARGE EVENING
JAN 2 AND INDICATED THAT ETHIOPIA WOULD BE PREPARED ENGAGE
IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOMALIA. IRANIAN FONMIN SEEMS
ENCOURAGED BY THIS DEVELOPMENT. HOWEVER, PRECONDITIONS ATTACHED
TO SUCH NEGOTIATIONS BY ETHIOPIA APPEAR UNACCEPTABLE
TO SOMALIA. THESE PRECONDITIONS WOULD REQUIRE WITHDRAWAL OF
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SOMALI FORCES FROM OGADEN AND SOMALI RECOGNITION OF INTER-
NATIONAL BOUNDARIES. I WILL DISUCSS MATTER FURTHER WITH
SHAH EVENING JAN 5. END SUMMARY.

1. UNDERSECY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS ZELLI CALLED ME TO
MINISTRY MORNING JAN 5 TO DISCUSS "URGENT DEVELOPMENT".
IN OUR TALK WE WERE JOINED BRIEFLY BY FONMIN KHALATBARY,

WHO HAD TO LEAVE FOR AUDIENCE WITH SHAH.
BOTH ZELLI AND KHALATBARY SEEMED QUITE EXCITED BY MESSAGE
WHICH THEY HAD RECEIVED FROM ADDIS ABABA REPORTING CONVER-
SATION BETWEEN ETHIOPIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND IRANIAN
CHARGE, WHO HAD BEEN SUMMONED TO FOREIGN OFFICE IN ADDIS
ABABA EVENING JAN 2.

2. ACCORDING ZELLI, FONMIN TOLD IRANIAN CHARGE HE WAS REACTING
TO WIRE SERVICE REPORTS OF STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO SHAH AFTER HIS
MEETINGS WITH PRES CARTER. IN RESPONSE TO THE SHAH'S STATEMENT,
THE ETHIOPIAN FONMIN MADE THE FOLLOWING TEN POINTS:

A. SOMALIA WAS THE AGGRESSOR, IT WAS STILL BOMBING ETHIOPIAN
CITIES, AND ITS TROOPS HAD BEEN FIVE MONTHS IN ETHIOPIAN
TERRITORY.

B. ETHIOPIA HAS NO INTENTION OF TRANSGRESSING INTO SOMALIA
AND NO CLAIM AGAINST SOMALI TERRITORY. THE REMEDY FOR THE PRE-
SENT SITUATION IS FOR SOMALIA TROOPS TO WITHDRAW AND TO RECO-
GNIZE ETHIOPIA'S PROPER FRONTIERS. ETHIOPIA HAS A LEGAL RIGHT
TO PUSH BACK SOMALI INVADERS. ETHIOPIA WANTS COUNTRIES LIKE IRAN
TO EXERT THEIR INFLUENCE TO HAVE SOMALIA WITHDRAW
ITS TROOPS.

(C) WHOEVER SUPPLIES ARMS TO SOMALIA ASSISTS SOMALIAN
AGGRESSION.

(D) ETHIOPIA IS GRATEFUL FOR THE SHAH'S CONCERN AND
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READY TO PARTICIPATE IN "ANY SORT OF DISCUSSIONS". HOWEVER,
BEFORE THIS COULD TAKE PLACE SOMALIA MUST WITHDRAW,
RECOGNIZE ETHIOPIA'S INTERNATIONAL FRONTIERS, AND RESPECT
THE PROVISIONS OF THE OAU CHARTER. (E) ETHIOPIA IS DETERMINED
TO FIGHT TO THE LAST MANTO PRESERVE ITS INDEPENDENCE,
TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, AND UNITY.

(F) ETHIOPIA HAS NO EXPANSIONIST AMBITIONS
AGAINST ANY OF ITS NEIGHBORS.

(G) ETHIOPIA HAS PROPOSED A CONFEDERATION WITH SOMALIA
WHICH THE LATTER HAS NOT ACCEPTED. SUCH A CONFEDERATION
WOULD PERMIT THE MUTUAL EXPLOITATION OF COMMON ECONOMIC
RESOURCES.

(H) SOMALIA HAS PREPARED FOR SEVENTEEN YEARS TO GO TO
WAR AGAINST ITS NEIGHBORS. ITS CONSTITUTION AND ITS FLAG
TESTIFY TO ITS EXPANSIONIST INTENTIONS. SOMALIA HAS ALSO
ATTACKED KENYA WHICH RAISED THE ISSUE IN LIBREVILLE. SOMALIA
IS ALSO ENGAGED IN THE DESTRUCTION OF DJIBOUTI.

(I) NONE OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE OAU CONDONES OR SUPPORTS
THE POLICIES OF SOMALIA.

(J) IN THE OAU COMMITTEE FOR MEDIATION, ETHIOPIA MAIN-
TAINED ITS PRESENCE BUT SOMALIA WALKED OUT.

3. ZELLI SAID THAT, IN ORDER TO KEEP THE DIALOGUE WITH THE ETHIOPIANS GOING, HE HAD SENT THE EXACT TEXT OF THE STATEMENT MADE BY THE SHAH ON JANUARY 1. HE QUOTED IT TO ME AS FOLLOWS: "OUR ENDEAVOR IS THAT THE GOVERNMENTS OF SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA SHOULD TRY TO ESTABLISH PEACE BY DIRECT CONTACT AND THROUGH PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THEIR DIFFERENCES. JUST AS WE HAVE TRIED IN THE PAST, WE STILL ARE TRYING TO DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY IN THIS RESPECT. ETHIOPIA SHOULD REALIZE THAT UP TO NOW WE HAVE NOT DONE ANYTHING AGAINST THEM, AND, TO THE CONTRARY, WE HAVE TRIED THAT THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN SOMALIA AND ETHIOPIA SHOULD BE SOLVED BY PEACEFUL MEANS. AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST DRAW THE ATTENTION OF ETHIOPIA TO THE FACT THAT, SHOULD THEY ENVISAGE TRANSGRESSING BEYOND THE INTERNATIONALLY RECOGNIZED
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BOUNDARIES OF SOMALIA, THUS ENDANGERING THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THAT COUNTRY, AND SHOULD SOMALIA REQUEST OUR ASSISTANCE, AS WE HAVE ASSUMED IN THE CASE OF OMAN AND WITH REGARD TO THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES, THEN IT IS A MATTER OVER WHICH IRAN COULD NOT REMAIN INDIFFERENT."

4. ZELLI ASKED MY REACTION TO THIS INTERCHANGE. I TOLD ZELLI THAT, ALTHOUGH IT WAS ENCOURAGING THAT THE ETHIOPIANS HAD APPROACHED IRAN IN A SERIOUS VEIN, IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE PRECONDITIONS ESTABLISHED FOR DISCUSSIONS WITH SOMALIA WOULD BE PRETTY DIFFICULT FOR THE SOMALIANS TO ACCEPT. I POINTED OUT THAT SOMALIA COULD CONTINUE ITS SOPHISTRY ABOUT NOT HAVING ANY TROOPS IN THE OGADEN AND THEREFORE MIGHT BE ABLE TO SAY THAT IT WAS COMPLYING WITH THE CONDITIONS CONCERNING WITHDRAWAL OF SOMALI FORCES. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE CONDITIONS OF ACCEPTING THE CURRENT INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY OF ETHIOPIA ENCOMPASSING OGADEN WAS WHAT THE DISPUTE WAS ALL ABOUT. THEREFORE IT SEEMED RATHER UNLIKELY THAT THE ETHIOPIAN PROPOSAL WOULD GET VERY AT.

5. ZELLI ACKNOWLEDGED THIS BUT SAID THAT THE IRANIANS HAD NEVERTHELESS SENT A MESSAGE TO SIAD BARRE IN MOGADISCIO ENCOURAGING HIM TO UNDERTAKE "AN OFFENSIVE FOR PEACE" WITH A PUBLIC STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT HE WAS PREPARED TO MEET WITH THE ETHIOPIANS TO DISCUSS A CEASE-FIRE AND A RESOLUTION OF THE CONFRONTATION WITH ETHIOPIA. ZELLI SAID THAT, IF A MOMENTUM COULD BE BEGUN IN THIS MATTER HE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO BRING THE OAU INTO THE EQUATION. IF THE OAU COULD SET UP A "CEASE-FIRE COMMISSION" THIS MIGHT SET THE TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR BOTH THE ANTAGONISTS.

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6. I POINTED OUT TO ZELLI THAT I EXPECTED TO HEAR FROM YOU CONCERNING YOUR IDEAS FOR ACTION WITH RESPECT TO THE HORN OF AFRICA SUBSEQUENT TO YOUR VARIOUS CONVERSATIONS IN SAUDI ARABIA, EGYPT, AND PARIS. I EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT IRAN WOULD NOT PLUNGE TOO FAR AHEAD ON THIS PARTICULAR ENTERPRISE UNTIL YOU HAD BEEN ABLE TO SUGGEST A MORE CONCERTED FORM OF ACTION. ZELLI SAID THAT IRAN WOULD, OF COURSE, CONCERT ITS ACTIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES AND WAS EAGERLY AWAITING YOUR SUGGESTIONS.

7. COMMENT: I HAVE AN AUDIENCE WITH THE SHAH THIS EVENING AND WILL ATTEMPT TO SLOW DOWN THE PACE OF IRANIAN ACTIONS UNTIL YOU CAN PROVIDE MORE DETAILED GUIDANCE CONCERNING YOUR OWN VIEWS AND THE VIEWS OF YOUR VARIOUS INTERLOCUTORS. MY GUESS IS THAT THE SHAH WILL BE SOMEWHAT MORE SKEPTICAL ABOUT THE ETHIOPIAN DEMARCHE THAN HIS ACOLYTES IN THE FOREIGN MINISTRY. SULLIVAN UNQUOTE.
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